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THREE LETTERS

UPON

IRISH COLONIZATION,

ADDRESSED TO

SIR COLMAN O'LOGHLEN, BART.

BY

JOHN ROBERT GODLEY, ESQ.

1847

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To SIR COLEMAN O'LOUGHLEN, Bart.

My dear Sir Colman,

Knowing, as I do, the deep interest which you take in every effort to ameliorate the social condition of Ireland, I trust that I need not apologise for making use of your name as a means of drawing attention to the important subject with which the following letter is concerned. I will proceed, therefore, without further preface, to write, nominally to you, but really for the public.

The length of the Memorial on Systematic Colonization from Ireland, which was presented to Lord John Russell on the 31st ult., having prevented its insertion in the Irish newspapers, I think it desirable to explain, in a more concise manner, the main propositions which it embodies, in order to make them easily accessible to the Irish public. They are five—First, the necessity of Emigration on a very large scale from Ireland to Canada, in order to preserve vast numbers of our fellow-countrymen from perishing of want. Secondly, the necessity of providing religious instruction, and other elements of civilization for the Emigrants. Thirdly, the necessity of assistance from the State to increase the means of employment in America, and facilitate Emigration. Fourthly, the advantage of enlisting private enterprise, in the form of agency, to carry out the plan; and Fifthly, a willingness to bear a property and income tax for the purpose of defraying the expense of it. I will treat of these separately, and comment, as I proceed, on some of the objections which have been raised to them.

The first proposition is supported by arguments which shew, that the population of a country, which is forced to pass suddenly from the cultivation of potatoes to that of corn and green crops, and from a cheaper to a dearer kind of food, is necessarily for the time redundant; and that, in order to avoid a great mortality, and an accompanying social disorganization, and to bring about such a state of things as will *ultimately* admit of an increase of population, as well as of the other elements of wealth and greatness, a great immediate diminution of those numbers is absolutely necessary. It is shown that no Poor Law, or other measure, affecting only the distribution of existing resources, can make those resources sufficient for the support of a population which has outgrown them, and that the very circumstances—namely, the starvation, misery, and consequent anarchy, which are the results of a population too great for the means of subsistence, must prevent the influx of capital which can alone increase those means.

It is not necessary, while writing for Irishmen, to enlarge on this point. All classes in Ireland—landlords, tenants, labourers, tradesmen—shew that they feel the force and truth of our proposition, in the great though desultory efforts which they are making to equalize population with resources, by the very means which we propose—namely, Emigration.

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There is at present, no limit to Emigration, but the means of paying for a passage, and of finding employment in America; it is, therefore, unjust to accuse us of wishing to drive people out of Ireland; we would only enable them to do, in a systematic, orderly, efficient manner; and in connexion with all the appliances and means of civilization, that which they are almost frantically anxious to do, even in the disorderly, and scrambling fashion, which is now pursued. If to offer to the Irish people facilities to do what they like, shew hostility to them, we are their worst enemies; if to prefer seeing them civilized and prosperous abroad, to keeping them in penury and wretchedness at home, be want of patriotism, we are no patriots; but we are convinced that our countrymen will take a very different view of our proceedings and motives; they will perceive that our reasoning is sound, and our conclusions inevitable, and they will agree with us, that the adoption of a plan founded on the principles which we advocate is necessary for the present safety, as well as for the future prosperity of Ireland. But I must not be misunderstood; I believe that the existence of a surplus population in the midst of undeveloped resources, is an anomaly—and a misfortune; but I find that anomaly existing, and I hear of no tolerably plausible suggestion for removing it, except that contained in our memorial. Ireland, under different social arrangements, may sustain in comfort a far greater population than that which is now found to be redundant; but our argument is, that in order to give us, as it were, breathing time and elbow-room to effect those arrangements, a large immediate diminution of numbers is necessary. I have taken every opportunity of expressing my deep conviction that the necessity of Emigration, is a calamity for the country from whence it proceeds, and shews that the social system of that country is in an unsatisfactory state—but that is not the question now—the questions are, whether the existing resources of Ireland are sufficient to feed the people; and whether, if not, there be any available means of equalizing resources and people, except Emigration, and those questions, I feel no doubt, the Irish people will determine as we have determined them. In fact, as I have before said, what is going on around us every day, shews that they are already determined; it is unnecessary to argue further against theories which are practically disavowed by the hundreds of thousands which are now emigrating, and the millions more that would emigrate if they could—I may therefore assume, that our first proposition is proved—namely, the necessity of a very large Emigration.

We next proceed to shew the principles upon which our plan of Colonization is founded, and this brings me to a consideration of the second proposition which I have mentioned—the necessity of providing religious instruction for the Emigrants, and of supplying other aids which may make their Settlements orderly, prosperous and civilized.

We are strongly impressed with the conviction, that no system of Colonization is worthy of the name, which does not contemplate more than a mere improvement in the material and financial prospects of the Emigrant. We feel deeply the responsibility attaching to those who would encourage a population, however wretched, to break the ties which bind civilized society together, to leave pastors, friends, and kindred, and to scatter themselves in a state of moral destitution over the wildernesses of the New World. It is melancholy to reflect on the numbers of our countrymen who are to be met with in various parts of the New World, almost relapsing into barbarism from long isolation, deprived of access to all the influences of civilization, without the means of educating their

children, or of attending the services of their Church, and often feeling that they have purchased an increase of material prosperity, too dearly, at the price of those religious and moral blessings which they have left behind. These considerations apply especially to the Irish, who are a very religious, as well as sociable people, and who therefore suffer in a peculiar manner from the evils to which we have alluded. The result is, that few Irish Roman Catholics, comparatively speaking, go upon land at all in America; and that the great majority of them congregate in the large towns of Canada and the United States. It is impossible not to see that they are there regarded by the natives with contempt and aversion, mixed with fear,—that their presence is looked upon as a necessary evil, and that all the worst characteristics of their race are perpetuated and aggravated by their position.

It is in the hope of remedying these great evils, and of turning thereby our present calamity into a means of permanently improving the position of the Irish people in America, that we have proposed to the Government to provide for the Irish Emigrants the necessary aids to civilized, and (what may be called) social settlement. The first place among these aids we have naturally given to the endowment of their clergy, and we have done so, not only from a conviction that no system of Colonization can prosper which is not founded on religious principles, but from a belief in the peculiar necessity which exists for sending, along with large masses of the Irish people, a proportionate number of that order of men who have been their guides and governors in their native land. We believe, that in a good system of Colonization, institutions should emigrate as well as people, and as an Emigration of Roman Catholic Irish must necessarily contain a very small portion of gentry and capitalists, the natural leaders of a young society, we think it of great importance that the leadership, without which an Irish Emigration would be the most helpless, and least prosperous, in the world, should be supplied by enabling their clergy to accompany them.

We believe that further aids of settlement ought to be provided, in the shape of such accessories of civilization as require combination of labour—for example, mills, roads, bridges, and main drainage. We conceive that by the preparation of settlements in the manner which I have indicated, the difficulties which are found to attend upon Irish Colonization may be removed, and nuclei formed for the creation of an Irish people, with full scope for the working of an Irish nationality, under all the favorable circumstances which the new world offers.

I will reserve for a future day a description of the means by which we propose that employment shall be found for the emigrants, on their arrival, and of the machinery by which, as we conceive, the whole plan ought to be conducted.

I remain, my dear SIR COLMAN,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN ROBERT GODLEY.

LETTER II.

To SIR COLMAN O'LOGHLEN, Bart.

My dear Sir Colman,

The Emigration of this year cannot be computed at less than 200,000 persons, but its character is such as to make it no subject of congratulation to Irishmen. A very large proportion of these, probably more than half, belong to the classes which contribute to bear, not to increase, the burden of poor rates. Paupers, strictly so called,—that is, men who are now supported by the public, and who must in all probability continue so to be,—cannot of course emigrate by means of their own resources; and the number of those enabled by landlords and friends in America to emigrate, cannot certainly be very large in proportion to the whole Emigration. Yet the number of mere labourers which will land in Canada this year will probably fully equal, if it do not exceed, the means of employing them. I anticipate great distress in America this year, from the immigration of labour, for which the country is not prepared. The existing system (if such a state of things may be called a system) is defective in every respect—defective as regards Ireland, for it tends to carry off a disproportionate number of those whom we can least spare; and defective as regards America, for it makes no provision for the limited number of labourers whom it removes. We want to redress these anomalies; to remove from Ireland the class of which she has at present a redundant supply, and to secure to them the means of permanent well-being in new countries. How are these objects to be accomplished?

It is necessary to premise, that we have fixed upon British America as the only possible field for a Colonization such as we require, from its comparative proximity, and the consequent cheapness of Emigration to it, as well as from its being the only country where there would be a sufficient quantity of food ready for a large number of additional mouths. It is, then, to British America that we have altogether directed our attention. Let us consider its position. It contains an *unlimited* field of employment for capital, in the shape of fertile land, intersected by water communications, with a healthy climate, and under a vigorous constitutional government. It is only necessary to describe British America, in order to see, that, unless some causes, not immediately apparent, were at work to impede the flow of capital towards the most profitable field, it would at this moment attract all the disposable capital which is now producing only the low rate of profit current in Great Britain. The capacity for employing capital, and the desire felt for it, is shewn, not only by *à priori* reasoning, but by unmistakeable facts; by the testimony of Colonial authorities, by the constant efforts which the Colonists are making to procure it in this country; and above all, by the exhorbitant interest which is paid for its use. Give us but capital, says the united voice of all parties in the provinces, and we can employ profitably any amount of labour. And yet hitherto hardly any British capital has been invested in Canada; consequently there has been a very small

demand for immigrant labour. If then we can discover and remove the causes which have prevented the investment of capital, we shall thereby produce an immediate and very great demand for the labour which is seeking a market. In our Memorial to LORD JOHN RUSSELL, we have stated our views of the nature of those causes, and the conclusions to which we were led by the consideration of them. I will briefly recapitulate them.

In the first place, till very lately, Canada possessed no organization capable of administering effectually in the improvement of the country, the capital which it required. This was one very important reason for the inferior demand for labour in Canada, as compared with the rural districts of the United States. The organization has now been provided by the establishment of municipal councils, with powers of borrowing money, and taxing districts, for the purposes of local improvement. The administrative bodies now exist, but they cannot procure adequate funds. Colonial enterprises are at the lowest point of discredit in the British money market. American securities of all kinds are treated with positive ridicule in the City of London. It is not merely distance—it is not a doubt of the pecuniary return to be expected from investments, it is a conviction that no reliance can be placed on the good faith of American borrowers, which prevents British capitalists from even listening to their applications. Political causes, such as the recent rebellions, and the vicinity of the United States, contribute to the prevalence of this feeling. Its *effect* is, that no Capital, or next to none, can be procured on any terms in this country for British America. Whilst the new American States procure Capital from the money markets of the American cities, the British provinces are compelled to remain with their resources undeveloped, and their progress retarded, the British money market, their natural source of supply, being closed against them by the causes which I have enumerated.

In order then to create a demand for Irish labour, by means of British capital, we must improve Colonial credit effectually, so as to remove from the minds of the capitalist all doubt upon the matter of faith or obligation, as well as the necessity of insurance (as it were) against adverse political events, and to allow his calculations to be based altogether upon the question of pecuniary return, as would be the case if his investment were to be made in Great Britain. This end we have proposed to attain by means of a guarantee on the part of the Imperial Government of a certain low rate of interest for money laid out on Canadian improvements, and by legislation, giving to contracts between British capitalists and public bodies in the Provinces, the validity of Imperial law. If this were done, we conceive that nearly as much capital would be directed into British America, as if, with all its own peculiarly favourable circumstances, it were brought across the Atlantic, and became geographically, as well as politically, an integral part of Great Britain.

Besides the capital which the improvement of Colonial credit by British legislation would attract into the natural and ordinary channels, through the medium of which a new Country is made habitable, we contemplate the outlay of a large sum of money in preparing settlements for the labourers who shall have saved money out of their earnings, and shall be ready to go upon the land—an outlay which will of course involve a proportionably increased demand for labonr. Now much of this outlay must be considered as unproductive in a financial point of view ; it will consist in the erection of churches and schools, and the endowment of clergy, as well as in the material improvements which I have before

mentioned. Irish Colonization for this reason (amongst, perhaps, others) has never been found to "pay" as a private speculation; it requires aids which involve the speculator in too large an expense; he would come into the land market in a country where land is a drug, at a disadvantage too great to be overcome. We propose therefore that this outlay shall be contributed indirectly, but gratuitously, by the State, through a medium which I shall hereafter describe; and it will constitute the chief part of the expenditure by which the State is called upon to assist the movement which we anticipate.

Private individuals and companies possessing wild land in the Colonies, will no doubt zealously co-operate in promoting our settlements. The attraction of capital and population to their land will be a matter of immense importance to them. They will vie with each other in offering facilities, such as sites for buildings, and land for glebes, as well as the privilege of selling land to the settlers at a low price, and they will be amply repaid by the increased value which the settlement will confer upon their own reserves, which are now absolutely worthless and unproductive.

Another and very potent means of increasing the demand for labour in British America can hardly be appreciated by those who are not practically acquainted with the social condition of the Irish in America. It is the use of such instruments of moral attraction as shall produce the immigration of Capitalists from the United States into British America. This is a subject on which the assertions of the Memorialists will probably be contradicted by the Americans, for obvious reasons. Yet I fearlessly repeat them, relying not only on my own personal observation, but on the testimony of every individual, British and American, acquainted with the subject, with whom I have ever had an opportunity of conversing. The Irish Roman Catholics, as a class (allowing for individual exceptions), are in a false, uncomfortable, inferior position in the United States. Financially they prosper, no doubt; they get on very well as domestic servants, labourers on public works, mechanics, tradesmen; but they are regarded by the "Native Americans" with contempt in a social, and with jealousy in a political, point of view; and as I have before said, they very rarely become (as we should from their previous habits expect them to become) proprietors and occupiers of *land*.

Under these circumstances I have no doubt whatever, that if they saw a prospect of the growth and development of an Irish Nationality in British America, if they saw their Church amply endowed, and their countrymen likely to become, by the legitimate influence of the majority, politically paramount there, Irish-born capitalists, men who have made and saved money in America, would come over in very considerable numbers, to invest it among their own countrymen. There is a very strong *Irish* feeling in America; Irish nationality has not been destroyed, though it is overpowered and neutralized, and I feel convinced that the idea of an Irish people in America, would evoke a simultaneous and extensive sympathetic movement among Irish-born Americans from Maine to Georgia.

But before I leave this part of the subject, I cannot avoid briefly noticing that form of opposition to our plan, which consists in deprecating the establishment of a distinctively Irish or Celtic Nationality. I protest altogether against any unfavorable inferences of this nature which may be drawn from the example of the Irish in Ireland. I maintain that they have never had a fair chance yet. I do not intend to enter the region of political controversy, and consequently refrain from enlarging on this point; but, *so far*, all must I think agree with me. They have never, I repeat, had a fair chance yet, either in Europe or

America. I believe the natural development of Irish national tendencies would be of a conservative, aristocratical, and religious character, and consequently that the creation of an Irish Nation, with the incalculable advantages of religious, historical, and generic unity, would be the means of raising up a most wholesome antidote and counterpoise to the unmixed democracy of the American Republic.

But this is a digression; the point to which I wished principally to direct your attention, and to which I would now recall it, is the increased demand for immigrant labour which, as I contend, would be created by the attraction of American capitalists.

It is impossible to calculate, at all accurately, how much capital would be directed, by the various means which I have pointed out, into British America, or, consequently, what amount of additional labour could be profitably absorbed. Any sum, or any number, which I might name, would be of course purely hypothetical; I will therefore content myself with assuming (what no one surely can deny), that a *very great* additional introduction of both capital and labour would take place; so great, that Ireland would be effectually relieved, and the materials afforded for realizing, on a great scale, the magnificent idea of Systematic Colonization. In my next letter I will describe the machinery on which we rely for carrying our plan into successful operation.

I am, my dear SIR COLMAN,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN ROBERT GODLEY.

LETTER III.

To SIR COLMAN O'LOGHLEN, Bart.

My dear Sir Colman,

Having stated the causes which induce us to consider a large additional Emigration necessary, the principles upon which we think it ought to be founded, and the means which we have suggested for giving employment, and facilitating Settlement, in British America, it remains for me to explain why we have proposed that private enterprise should be enlisted, in the form of Agency, to carry out the plan, and why we believe that the interference of the State should consist merely of aid to such enterprise, and of bounty upon its success; why we want, in short, to get a Company of Merchants to *colonize by contract.*

The plan which we have proposed, is as follows; that a Company be formed with a large amount of subscribed capital; that it be authorized to lend money to public bodies in Canada, and to undertake public works there on its own account; that its loans be backed by the guarantee of a limited interest, and its investments by the sanction of Imperial law; and that the direct pecuniary contribution of the State to the settlements, which we contemplate, be given in the form of premium to the Company when the settlement shall have been completed. We have proposed that a fair average shall be struck of the cost of such aids of settlement as I have described in a former letter, that a certain sum per head shall be paid by the Government to the Company for Emigrants satisfactorily settled, and that payment shall be due when, and not until, the Governor General shall certify that the objects of the Imperial Government shall be fully accomplished.

Now this plan, if practicable, (as we can prove it to be), has many and obvious advantages. In the first place the Government will be secured against unprofitable outlay; if the experiment wholly or partially fail, precisely in the same proportion will its cost be reduced. In the second place, there is an infinitely increased probability that it will not fail, when it is conducted under the incentive of a strong private interest in success constantly operating on the Agent. Everything which can be done by contract is best done by contract; and we have argued that the extensive and multifarious business involved in carrying out such a system of Colonization as we contemplate, can, and therefore ought to, be the subject of a contract. The business would consist of raising money in this country to be lent to public bodies in America—undertaking works in the Colony—providing aids of settlement—managing the contributions to the fund for passage-money, and generally of whatever should need to be done, whether in Canada, or in Ireland, with a view to the smooth and efficient working of the whole plan. The incentive, the only effectual incentive, to carry on successfully such a series of operations, must be the hope of pecuniary gain. The gain of the

Company would consist partly in the high rate of profit current in America, but chiefly in the Government bounty on successful settlement. The Company would therefore set in motion, with this end, all those subordinate instruments and agencies, direct and indirect, which private enterprise alone is capable of employing with effect. It would use every effort to increase Emigration, to stimulate the investment of capital by offering it on reasonable terms, to enlarge the field of employment by undertaking public works, to give such wages as would enable the labourers to go as soon as possible upon land, and above all to make its settlements both morally and materially so attractive, as to exhibit in the greatest possible numbers, those civilized and prosperous settlers, whose existence would be the condition of its own gain.

Though the arguments for employing the Agency of a Company for the purpose of Colonization appear so powerful and obvious, there is no part of our plan which has given rise to more objections, and which people have shewn more hesitation in adopting. Now it might be sufficient to answer these objections by saying, "Give us what we ask; namely, a Commission of Inquiry; and if we cannot make it appear that the other objects of our Memorial will be effected in the best and cheapest way by a Company, then let that part of our plan be thrown aside, and let Government pursue those objects by more direct action on its own responsibility." But I confess that I consider this part of our plan as so essential to the successful working of the whole, that I am glad to take every opportunity to impress its importance on the minds of those who take an interest in the subject; and with that view I will now notice and answer some of the objections which have been made to it. These arise chiefly, I think, from want of acquaintance with the History of Colonies, and the art of Colonization, and accordingly I find that a writer in the "*Times*," who strongly opposes our plan on *Anti-Irish* grounds, but who is evidently familiar with the subject generally, admits that in all Systematic Colonization, the agency of "Great Companies" must henceforth be employed.

In the first place it is said, that we shall never be able to form a Company, which shall undertake to "colonize by contract;" and in the second place, that it will fail if it do so. Now, I say, that if it can be shewn to the merchants of the City of London, that there is a good chance of profit to be made by embarking in any commercial enterprize, a Company will be formed in a week, which will undertake it; and that in the case under consideration, the Government may make it their interest to colonize the waste territory of Canada with Irishmen, (if the Government choose to do so,) by offering to them a contract upon sufficiently advantageous terms. British capitalists will do anything by contract, and do it as well as it can be done, too. But, moreover, the objectors forget that the principle of "colonizing by contract" is no new one. Not one of our early American Colonies was colonized otherwise than by private individuals or Companies who received grants of land on condition of settling them. In later times the same principle has been adopted in Canada. For example, Colonel Talbot received a grant of 50,000 acres of wild land, on condition of settling a certain district of country with Emigrants from Europe. He did so, and his grant was accordingly confirmed. But to come nearer home; perhaps the most rapid and permanent colonizing operation on record is the Plantation of Ulster in the reign of James the First; this was effected precisely in the same manner, as regards

agency, which we now recommend; the merchants of the City of London received large grants of territory on condition of "locating" a certain number of English or Scotch Protestants on every thousand acres; the manner in which this was to be done, the number and size of the houses, the extent of the enclosures, &c. were specified as the terms of the contract between the Crown and the Companies, and those terms were fulfilled, in a wonderfully short space of time, and in spite of obstacles of all kinds, over a vast district of country.

In the present case, the Crown has no *land* to dispose of, and accordingly we propose that a grant of money be substituted for it; in every other respect the operation which we wish to be the subject of a contract between Government and the capitalist, is of a precisely analogous nature to that which I have described; the conditions are not more difficult to arrange, and the obstacles to settlement fewer. If James the First had possessed a Colonial Office, and attempted to plant Ulster through its instrumentality, I have no doubt that he would have succeeded no better than the French have done in Algeria, or than our own Government did in their attempt to colonize part of Canada from Ireland in 1825.

Government, especially the Government of a country possessing a popular constitution, labours under innumerable disadvantages in carrying on any operation of a complicated and difficult nature. In a great number of cases these must be submitted to, from the impossibility of finding a substitute for direct Governmental agency; but they are not the less real on that account. A Government is compelled, or at least tempted, to appoint its officers with reference to Parliamentary influence; it cannot dismiss them without some definite and proveable ground of complaint; nor are the motives which can alone be brought to bear upon its Members, such as patriotism, love of fame, and sense of duty, found to produce (except in a comparatively few favoured cases) that unwearied, persevering, exclusive, pursuit of success, which can alone insure its attainment. This truth is exemplified especially in the administration of remote dependencies, to which it is difficult to direct public attention, and with reference to which, consequently, ministerial responsibility is of a very slight and nominal kind. If we compare, accordingly, the administration of affairs in Crown Colonies with that of such corporations as, for example, the East India Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company, it is impossible not to be struck by the contrast which is exhibited by them, both at the seat of Direction, and in the countries which are the scene of their operations. The policy pursued in the former is as feeble, vacillating, and ineffectual, as that of the latter is vigorous, consistent, and successful; nor is the superiority of the Companies less remarkable in the choice of their officers than in the character of their policy. I do not blame the Members of our successive Governments for the defects in their Colonial administration; the inferiority is in the system, not in the men; I only allude to them for the purpose of showing that as in every case where it is possible to employ the agency of private enterprise, it is desirable to do it, so it is proved by experience to be especially desirable in such cases as that now under consideration, namely—the management of an extensive and complicated colonizing operation in a remote dependency.

The only part of our plan which it remains for me to explain and defend, is the means by which we propose to defray the expense which it involves. For this purpose we have suggested that a Property and Income-Tax be imposed upon Ireland, of such an amount as to provide the interest

of the money which it will be necessary for the Government to advance, and a sinking-Fund for its repayment; and we have calculated that if our plan be as successful, and, therefore, as costly, as we can possibly expect, the Income-Tax required to defray the cost of it will not be heavier than that which is now paid by Great Britain.

Now I maintain that this proposal is both just and expedient. It is just, because there is no reason whatever why property of all kinds should not be taxed for the relief of the poor, except reasons which concern the local administration of a Poor-Law. If it were *convenient* that fund-holders, mortgagees, &c. should be called on to contribute, equally with landholders, to preserve their fellow-creatures from destitution by a poor-rate, I can conceive no plea of *justice* upon which they could claim exemption. Again, the commercial and professional classes suffer no less surely (though not perhaps so directly) from the ruin and demoralization which extensive pauperism entails upon a country, than the occupiers of land; while in the establishment of new and prosperous agricultural colonies, the interests of commerce and manufactures are involved far more deeply than those of domestic agriculture. Upon every ground, then, it is *just* that all classes in Ireland should contribute to the expense of colonization.

Nor is the expediency of our proposal less manifest than its justice; it is well known that Ireland was originally exempted from the Income Tax only on the ground of the supposed temporary nature of that tax, and the absence of Irish machinery for its collection. If, as is but too probable, the Income Tax is to be permanent, there is not the slightest doubt, indeed the leading statesmen of both parties have declared, that it will be extended to Ireland. It is therefore so much clear gain if we can connect it with an object specially beneficial to us; while the consent of Great Britain will be secured by the advantages which our plan, if adopted, will confer upon the Empire at large; in the extension of trade, in the encouragement of manufactures, and in the diversion from the British shores of the perpetual and increasing stream of Irish pauperism. On the other hand, we may rest assured that if we lose our present opportunity, we shall have the tax, without the benefit of its expenditure. For these reasons I strongly recommend to my countrymen not to run the risk of defeating altogether a plan so beneficial to Ireland, by an ill-judged resistance to a part which is so essential to the chance of its success, as that now under consideration.

If any further objections occur to me as deserving of refutation, I will deal with them in a future letter.

I am, my dear SIR COLMAN,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN ROBERT GODLEY.

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